

# The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

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## A Retrospect

Lessons Drawn From The Socialist Movement From  
1848 to 1895.

By FREDERICK ENGELS.

[The reprint given below of the last of the published writings of Frederick Engels is of especial value to-day in its application to the conditions prevailing in Europe. If events have so strongly falsified his views as to the strength and soundness of the rank and file of the German Social-Democratic Party, it should be remembered that when that organisation was formed by the fusion of the two previously existing parties—the Lassalleans and the Marxists—both Marx and Engels opposed the fusion, and only accepted the situation some time after, when the steady growth of the party seemed to justify its formation. The war has shown completely that the original views of Marx and Engels were right, while those of Bebel, Liebknecht, and the others were wrong, though many Marxian students proclaimed the unsoundness of the German party long before the war. In other words, the principles which Marx and Engels did so much to establish have proved to be correct even in the case where Engels was persuaded that a modification was required. A firm grip of those principles is the only safe guide for the workers to-day.—Ed. Com. "Socialist Standard," from which we reprint.]

We advise readers to secure a copy of Marx's "Criticism of the Gotha Programme," as it is his case against the "fusion."

From this office: 4d posted.

As the February revolution of 1848 broke out we were all, as regards our views of the conditions and course of revolutionary movements, under the influence of previous historical experience, especially that of France. It was just this latter which had controlled all European history since 1689, and from which once more the signal for a general upheaval had gone out. Hence it was natural and inevitable that our ideas of the nature and course of the "social" revolution proclaimed at Paris in February, 1848, the revolution of the proletariat, were strongly coloured by recollections of the prototypes of 1789 to 1830. And particularly as the Paris revolt found its echo in the victorious uprisings at Vienna, Milan, Berlin; as all Europe up to the Russian border was swept into the movement; as then in June at Paris the first great battle for supremacy was fought between proletariat and bourgeoisie; as even the victory of their own class so convulsed the bourgeoisie of all countries that they flew back again into the arms of the monarchic-feudal reactionists whom they had just overthrown: under all these circumstances there could be no doubt in our minds that the great decisive conflict had begun, and that it would have to be fought out in a single long revolutionary period with varying success, but that it could only end in the final victory of the proletariat.

After the defeats of 1849 we did not by any means share in the illusions of the pseudo-democracy which was grouped around the outskirts of the provisional governments. This was counting on an early, once for all, decisive victory of the "people" over the "oppressors"; we were counting on a long struggle after the removal of the oppressors, a struggle between the antagonistic elements hidden in this very "people" itself. The pseudo-democracy was expecting from day to day a renewed outbreak; we declared as early as in autumn 1850 that at least the first chapter of the revolutionary period was closed, and that nothing more was to be expected until the outbreak of a new economic world crisis. And for this very reason, too, we were excommunicated as traitors to the revolution by the very same people who afterwards almost without exception made their peace with Bismarck—so far as Bismarck found them worth having.

But history has shown that we, too, were wrong, and has exposed our opinion at that time as an illusion; it has done more: it has not only demolished our

error, it has totally recast the conditions under which the proletariat has to fight. The 1848 method of warfare is to-day antiquated in every particular, and that is a point which at this opportunity deserves to be closely examined.

All previous revolutions resulted in the displacement of one class government by another. All previous ruling classes were, however, only small minorities compared with the subject mass of the common people. A ruling minority was overthrown, in its stead another minority seized the helm of state, and remodelled the political institutions according to its own interests. In every case this new minority group was one which the progress of economic development had trained for and called to rulership, and for that very reason and only for that reason it happened that at the time of the revolution the subject majority either took sides with it or at any rate acquiesced in it. But ignoring the concrete details of each particular case, the common form of all these revolutions was this, that they were minority revolutions. Even when the majority assisted it was, consciously or unconsciously, only working in the interest of a minority. This fact, or even the passive non-resistance of the majority, gave to the minority the appearance of being the representative of the whole people.

After the first great victory the successful minority as a rule became divided; half was satisfied with what was already won, the other half wished to go farther yet and made new demands, which at least in part were in the real or apparent interest of the great mass of the people. These more radical demands were in particular instances carried through, but for the most part only temporarily; the more moderate party again got the upper hand; the latest gains were wholly or partly lost again. The radicals then raised the cry of "treason," or attributed their defeat to accident. In fact, however, matters stood about so:—the results of the first victory were made secure only by another victory over the more radical party. This done, and thereby the immediate demands of the moderates being attained, the radicals and their following disappeared again from the stage.

All the revolutions of modern times, beginning with the great English revolution of the seventeenth century, showed these features, which seemed inseparable from every revolutionary struggle. They appeared to be also applicable to the struggles of the proletariat for its emancipation; all the more applicable as in 1842 the few people could be counted who understood even in a general way the direction in which this emancipation was to be sought. The proletarian masses themselves even in Paris after the victory were still absolutely in the dark as to the course to pursue. And yet the movement was there, instinctive, spontaneous, irrepressible. Was not that exactly the condition in which a revolution was bound to succeed, though led, it is true, by a minority, but this time not in the interest of the majority but in the truest interest of the majority? If in all the more prolonged revolutionary periods the great masses of the people had been so easily won over by the merely plausible inducements of ambitious minorities, how could they be less accessible to ideas which were the purest reflex of their economic situation, which were nothing else but the clear, intelligent expression of their own wants, wants as yet not understood by themselves and only indistinctly felt? It is true this revolutionary temper of the masses had nearly always, and generally very soon, given way to lassitude or even to a reaction into the opposite attitude, as soon as the illusion had vanished and undeception had taken place.

Here, however, it was not a question of promoting the most vital interests of the great majority itself—interests which, it is true, at that time were by no means clearly seen by that great majority, but which in the course of practical enforcement were bound soon enough to become clear to it by the convincing force of experience. And now when in the spring of 1850 the development of the bourgeois republic which arose out of the "social revolution of 1848 had concen-

trated all actual power in the hands of the great bourgeoisie, and this having monarchic inclinations, too; and when on the other hand this same development had grouped all other classes of society, both peasants and small-bourgeoisie, around the proletariat in such a way and after the joint victory the controlling factor would be, not those others, but the proletariat itself, grown sharp-witted through experience—was there not every prospect at hand for turning a minority revolution into a majority revolution?

History has shown that we, and all who thought like us, were wrong. It has made it plain that the condition of economic development on the Continent at that time was not yet ripe enough by far for the abolition of capitalist production; it has proved this by the economic revolution which since 1848 has transformed the whole Continent and has for the first time effectively naturalised large-scale industry in France, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and, more recently, in Russia, while out of Germany it has actually made an industrial State of the first rank—all on a capitalist basis, which system therefore in 1848 was still capable of great expansion. Moreover, it is just this industrial revolution which first brought about clearness everywhere in class relations; which shoved aside a lot of middle men who had come down from the early manufacturing period and in Eastern Europe even from the guild system; which created a genuine bourgeoisie and a genuine factory proletariat and pushed them to the front place in the social development. Thereby, however, the struggle of these two great classes, a struggle which in 1848 existed outside of England, only in Paris, and at most in some few great industrial centres has spread for the first time over all Europe and reached an intensity which in 1848 was inconceivable. Then there were many confused sectarian gospels with their different panaceas; to-day the single, transparently clear and universally recognised theory of Marx, which sharply formulates the ultimate aim of the struggle; then, massed separately, and differentiated by locality and nationality, bound together only by a feeling of common suffering, undeveloped, tossed helplessly back and forth between enthusiasm and despair; to-day one great international army of Socialists, unceasingly advancing, daily growing in numbers, organisation, discipline, intelligence and certainty of victory. If even this mighty army of the proletariat has not yet attained its object, if far from wresting victory at one grand stroke, it has to press slowly forward from one position to another in a hard, tenacious struggle, this proves once for all how impossible it was in 1848 to effect the transformation of society by a mere sudden onslaught.

A bourgeoisie, split into two dynastic monarchic factions, but which demanded before everything else peace and security for its financial transactions; confronting it a proletariat, conquered but still threatening, and around which the small tradesmen and peasants were grouping themselves more and more; the constant threatening of a violent outbreak, which after all offered no prospect of a final solution—that was the situation, fitted as if made to order, for the forcible usurpation of the pseudo-democratic pretender, Louis Bonaparte, elected the Third. On December 2, 1851, with the aid of the army, he put an end to the strained situation, and secured internal peace for Europe in order to beautify it with new wars. The period of revolutions from the bottom up was for the time being closed; there followed a period of revolution from the top down.

The set back of 1851 towards Imperialism gave new proof of the unripeness of the proletarian aspirations of that time. But it was itself destined to create the conditions under which they must ripen. Internal peace secured the full development of the new industrial life; the necessity of keeping the army busy and of turning the revolutionary activities away from home engendered wars in which Bonaparte, under the pretence of giving effect to the "nationality principle," sought to rake up annexa-

Continued on page 4



# The International Socialist

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RAY EVERITT ..... Managing Editor.

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# The Downward Tendency.

By Marcia.

To those who sneer at the Socialist doctrine and still effect to ignore and deny the downward tendency of conditions, and unfortunately there are many, the time is rapidly approaching when even the most obstinate and sceptical will be forced by the pressure of this same downward tendency to, at last, from under the iron heel of capitalism, gaspingly admit the truth of Marx's statement, made so many years ago: "The conditions of the working class must grow worse."

We might illustrate this point in many ways, we could show the increased army of unemployed, the miserable environment surrounding the members of the working class, the increased cost of living, the wretched housing conditions, all of which can be proved by Government statistics, but all these things have effects, and it is with one of these effects that we wish to deal.

The capitalist press lately has emphasised the fact that married women in large numbers, have been seeking service, either domestic, or with what we are most concerned, in the factories; this they attribute to unemployment or the insufficient wages of the average husband.

In times past, although this state of affairs has been quite common in many capitalist countries, in Australia and N.S.W. especially, it has not been so prevalent, and although many women have eked out their weekly pittance by sewing, etc., at home, they have not actually worked in factories; we speak of course of married women on the whole, individual cases there have always been.

But the Labor Bureau figures show plainly the rapid increase in the numbers of married women who are looking for employment, and who are swelling the ranks of women in industry.

And thus we find that the rigid merciless wheel of capitalism is whirling on regardless of the lives of men, and in its mad course, its increasing speed it is sweeping women and children into the industrial hells in order to still further gratify its lust for gain.

Further happenings prove that this state of affairs is no "flash in the pan," as it were, but a beginning of what will inevitably increase by leaps and bounds. In all capitalist countries we are up against the same proposition, so we must conclude that if married women are forced into the industries to work, it is conditions that are the determining factor, and consequently the latter must be growing worse or the driving force would not be there; also we have to consider what will be the outcome of this influx.

Marx in "Capital" (Vol. I), deals extensively with the subject, clearly pointing out that capitalist development demands the presence of women in the factories; and as to married women, he quotes the following:—

Mr. E., a manufacturer informed me, that he employed females exclusively at his power looms . . . gives a decided preference to married

females, especially those who have families at home, dependant on them for support, they are attentive, docile, more so than unmarried females, and are compelled to use their utmost exertions to procure the necessities of life. (Ten Hours Factory Bill, the speech of Lord Ashley, March 15th, 1844).

So that we can easily see that a rush of married women into the industries will be welcomed by the employer, as a chance of obtaining more "docile," slaves, rendered thus by fear of starvation for their families, and it will increase that downward tendency in the conditions of the workers as a class, which is so very obvious to-day.

Women who, seeing destitution staring them in the face on account of their husband's low wages, or his inability to find a master, will find work for themselves, to keep the wolf from the door; at the same time unconsciously increase the struggle. The market of woman's labor power is overcrowded, and as her wages are of course lower than that of men, her services are excepted wherever possible, and this tends all the time to swell the number of unemployed amongst the men; and force down their wages, because we are faced with the laws of competition in all cases.

Consequently we must see very clearly, that, while many a woman is going to work with the idea of it being a temporary proceeding until her husband gets a job, she is forced by stress of circumstances to continue, owing to the ever-declining standard of living. And we are coming face to face with this proposition in Australia. At the start of capitalist production, hardly any but male labor confronted male labor in the labor market; now Sex is played against Sex." (Bebel.) (Black Mine.)

So we are forced to face the grim truth in all its hideousness; we of the working class in our struggles to exist, are getting further and further into the mesh of capitalism; and this endeavor of married women to ease the burden of their families by heaping more on their own backs, is in reality only making conditions harder for the workers as a whole and marks a still further drop in the downward level.

But we are powerless under capitalism to stop it, the rod of starvation drives and we blindly go forward under its dictates.

It is not our purpose to dwell on the other effects of the entrance of married women into the factories; books might be written on the fearful results both morally and physically; on the infant mortality, the still-born babies, the sickly degenerate children that manage to survive; all these horrors have been pointed out many times before, and it is sufficient to quote what one of the English reformers once stated:

"It was an extraordinary development of civilisation that we should do with our women what no farmer would think of doing with his cattle—make them do not only double but treble duty—bear children go out to work and attend to the household."

Unfortunately he overlooked the fact that under the present system, cattle cost money to replace if they die; but women who may fall dead at the machine cost nothing; there are plenty more ready and willing to take their place; and when it comes to a question of profit versus human life, the latter goes to the wall every time and all the time.

Whether we like it or not we of the working class are of less value than cows and horses and a few lives more or less don't count against the interest of the ruling class.

"The Sun" in bemoaning the fact of so many married women seeking work, state it must be a question of "the living wage."

And there the nail is hit right on the head; of course it is a question of the living wage, the wage that determines the very life of the working class, that decides their every action and limits the gratification of every desire; but what "The Sun" forgets to tell us is that the present system has for its basic foundation this same living wage, and until the system is overthrown, we shall still wear its chains and groan under its restrictions.

The standard of living to-day is forced down to such an extent that it is almost impossible to obtain sufficient food to keep body and soul together; and clothing and shelter are at the same low level, and the influx of women into the factories is an indisputable proof of this.

The question for us then is to keep on with our educational work; to put this position before the members of our class; to endeavour to make them see things in their true light; and to show them that only a complete change will benefit them as a class; and as the struggle becomes more fierce, as it undoubtedly will, we have to remember that it tends to bring us nearer to that critical moment when the workers as a class will arise and abolish exploitation and wage slavery for all time.

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### MARX'S CRITICISM OF THE GOTHA PROGRAMME.

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# THE Revolutionary Outlook

By MARCIA.

## Looking for Work!

"An advertisement recently asking for service from about 11 a.m. to 9 p.m. brought 22 applicants, of whom 20 were married women. About 5 o'clock on the day of the advertisement, a man called and said that his wife would be out of work the following morning, and could the final choice be left over so as to give her an opportunity of applying for the position.—"The Sun," 5/9/20.

We have come to that pass now evidently, when men not only have to seek work for themselves, but also for their wives; shortly if we progress at the same rate, we shall find the children being kept away from school to look for employment for their fathers and mothers; and this isn't in Russia either, it's in Australia.

## Eviction—in Sydney!

Last week the remainder of those families who had received notice to quit in Pyrmont, Sydney, were turned out of their houses. Many of them had nowhere to go, and their belongings were put into the street. Among them was a returned soldier, who had been away to fight for HIS country; he may own the country, but he certainly doesn't seem able to find a shelter in it, unless he puts up a tent somewhere. No doubt he is thinking now what a good thing it is that we won the war. What is the Minister for Housing doing by the way; we haven't heard of his rush to the rescue yet? Perhaps he is still lost in the blissful retrospect of when he hobnobbed with the Prince!

## Bolshevism.

"A Paris message states that French public opinion is seriously concerned about the spread of Bolshevism in Italy.—("S.M.H.," 7/9/20).

We are concerned about its spread in Australia, that it doesn't spread quick enough.

## More Money!

"About £4,000,000 more revenue than was received last year will be required this year.—("S.M.H.," 7/9/20).

Where is it all coming from? Look out, you workers; it's got to come from your sweat and blood. Wonder the masters are kicking at 44-hour weeks, and that Mr. Storey, our Labor (?) Premier, says the only thing is increased production. He supports labor all right. HARD LABOR!

## ????

"These include a number of Bolshevik prisoners who are now believed to favour General Von Wrangel's cause.—("S.M.H.," 7/9/20).

We DON'T think! The Bolsheviks know a little too much for that; and the Bolshevik prisoners may be trusted to make quite a few Polish converts while they are in Poland. They have never failed to do yet wherever they have been.

## SPOOK WORSHIP.

In an article by W. W. Cox, of America, and printed in the "One Big Union Herald," we read the following:—

"The most appropriate basis to start from to meet the requirements at this time was that basis set forth by our BELOVED DEPARTED DANIEL DE LEON, more than twelve years ago, and I am sure, if he could be consulted he would readily give consent." (Caps mine.)

In commenting on this affecting statement, we think that the Editor of the "One Big Union Herald" shows a lack of reverence, in failing to insert Alleluia's and hallelujahs; but we would advise W. W. Cox and the G.E.U. of the Australian administration W.L.L.U. to dry their eyes and take courage. Why not consult some eminent spookologist, Sir, A. Conan Doyle, for instance, as he is coming to Australia, and see what Daniel De Leon's spirit has to say about things in general, because we are quite sure that the W.L.L.U. cannot and ought not to do anything without the official consent of their "beloved and departed hero." It is wonderful that this idea hasn't struck them before.

## EXIT ADAM.

At present the churches are thinking seriously of repudiating their good and faithful servant Adam, in the light of Evolution the old story of the "Fall" cannot be peddled any longer; they say, and some of them are actually stating, that after all the "Fall" was never a vital part of the church's teaching.

We would like to ask if in the near future they intend to repudiate in the same manner the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth and the Resurrection; because according to church lore the latter came to redeem mankind, and if redemption is needed there must first have been a fall. These two great events have been the bulwarks of the church ever since its inception, and it is hard to know if it denies one, how it is going to find place for the other. However, we can safely leave it to those in authority to invent something; they have plenty of time; the only difficulty will be to find enough people still credulous enough to believe it.



## Organisation.

A misconception of what organisation really is exists in the minds of a large number of so-called "Industrial Revolutionists."

The Dictionary defines organisation as: regular arrangements to produce a number of persons acting together for a purpose.

A good many think there is no organisation unless there is a union ticket attached to it. Some say you are not organised industrially because you do not hold an industrial union ticket. That is a false conception: **there is, and will always be organisations, whose members have not, and will not, have tickets signifying they are members of that particular organisation.** The ticket is not a necessity as far as organisation is concerned.

Lenin, in "The Collapse of the Second International," gives a splendid definition of what organisation is: "It is the army of to-day. It is a model of good organisation. And this organisation is good, solely because it is flexible, and at the same time is able to make millions of men with a single will. To-day these millions are in their homes in various parts of the country. On the morrow the order is given to mobilise, and they assemble at given points. To-day they lie in trenches where they may possibly remain for months. To-morrow, in different order, they go into attack. To-day they work miracles in evading bullets and shrapnel. To-morrow they do wonders in open fights. To-day their advanced detachments dig mines underground. To-morrow they advance over dozens of miles as directed by aviators. **This is what is called organisation—when enthused by a single aim and animated by one will, millions of men change their mode of intercourse and action; change the place and the methods of their activity; change their instruments and tools in accordance with a change in circumstances and the requirements of the struggle.**"

Thus we see **organisation does not depend upon a display of tickets, but spontaneous action on the part of a body of people, to attain some desired object.**

One morning last week about 4 a.m. the rain started to pour forth from the heavens. A night shift was working at Wide Bay on the silos; they worked like "Trojans" for that "bonus," which master held up as a bait, to speed up their activities; the end of the shift came; the whistle sounded, and the men went home apparently satisfied with their lot in life. The rain continuing, the day shift sent up word to master that they would not start, unless they got double time for the shift; master conceded their demands. Then all went well till the following night.

The night shift coming on, demanded double time for their shift of the previous night. Master was not there, so word was sent to him that he was wanted on the job. In the meantime the men agreed to work till master put in an appearance. When he arrived word was sent around to know what was wrong; the men then knocked off work, and stated that the trouble was "double time for their last shift;" he would not concede that, but double time from the time the rain started; the men not agreeing to that went home.

Starting time next morning, day and night shifts, master and union secretary were assembled. The union secretary explained to the men that the union had entered into a compact with the contractor to carry on the work without stoppages, and they must continue. This they refused to do, unless they received double time for the night shift. Master and some of the shop stewards, and union secretary tried to divide the men, but it was no good; the men remained solid, and master was forced to concede their demands.

**There you had organisation;** not because the men held union tickets (as a matter of fact not ten per cent. held Builders' Labourers' tickets); but because they were of one mind and one will. The workers were solid, even though master and some of the bound officials tried to divide them. **What a contrast to 1917! The workers then depended on leaders, who sold them; now, they are learning to depend on themselves.**

The organisation that depends on the ticket is a good pigeon for the master class, who can intimate to their executive, the Government, to impose heavy penalties on the officials and members of "Ticket Organisations" for any unconstitutional act on the part of the said organisation.

When the working class as a class direct their attacks against the "Class State" to overthrow it, then we will be well on the road to the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The workers at the silos directed their attack against a section of the "master class" for immediate demands, but the organisation was there.

Most "Ticket Organisations" tend to reaction, but organisation resulting from spontaneous mass action tends to revolution.—H.E.Q.

### LOOKING BACKWARD

By Edward Bellamy.

One of the earliest novels of the Labor movement and still popular. Paper 1/6, posted 1/8; cloth 3/6, posted 3/9.

## The A.W.U.

To many individuals the centre of working class betrayal is the political field. The attitude of the A.S.P. has been that, lacking an understanding of their class position, the workers are open to be the pawns of any opportunist that desires to use them, whether it be on the industrial or political field. One can safely say that the industrial arena has been the incubator and mother to the majority of place-hunters, both past and present.

The following report of the W.B. Secretary, A.W.U., will give the reader a slight insight into the workings of Blakeley's O.B.U.

### ANNUAL REPORT OF WESTERN BRANCH SECRETARY.

Fellow Members,

In submitting my report for the year 1919-20, I wish to draw your attention to the fact that there has been a decrease of membership by 341, due no doubt to the dry spell in the western and northern portions of the branch.

The ticket membership as shown by the 1918-19 balance sheet was 6625, and the membership for the year 1919-20 is 6284, showing a decrease of members by 341.

During the year the branch donated £275 to the Broken Hill Relief, £45 to the Seamen's Relief, and £190 to the West Australian Mining Section, and at convention a levy was struck on all branch funds for West Australian mining section, and Western branch's amount in connection with this was £331 5s. The total of those amounts is £841 5s. This is largely the reason of the branch's financial position, and I consider the money was well spent in helping the workers to fight the common enemy, the capitalist. It was regrettable that the branch was not in a position to give more financial assistance to Broken Hill, as members will remember the Broken Hill miners are always first to give assistance to others, when engaged in industrial trouble.

The following amounts were paid from the political fund:—L. Cunningham £100, J. T. Tully £25, A. McLelland £20, P. J. Scully £20, W. Anderson £20, J. E. Byrne £20, W. J. Scully £20, and T. O. J. Swiney £20.

During the past twelve months I had also to pay £162 damages for W. Anderson, for a case which happened before I took office. The loss for the year, £1572 5s 10d, decrease in membership accounts for £341 of that amount.

I was summoned to Melbourne through the past year, and a motion was moved for my expulsion from the union, the charge being that I gave information on union business to persons not entitled to know same. The information I gave was to J. S. Garden, re a motion that was carried at the annual meeting. The annual meeting instructed me to forward the resolution to the editor of the O.B.U. newspaper, and not knowing his address, I sent the same along to J. S. Garden, as he was secretary of the O.B.U., and I knew he would forward the same along to the editor; the matter of the breakaway was discussed, also I refused to send the Anti-O.B.U. pamphlets out to members, but the level-headed members of the Executive Council voted against expelling me. However, they carried a vote of censure on me.

Information was conveyed to me last year about a selection ballot which had taken place at Wee Waa in connection with the Namoi selection ballot. I informed the branch executive of the same, and the executive authorised me to take steps to investigate the same.

The result of the investigation was that every voting slip was a forgery, and I decided in the interests of the A.W.U. to bring those slips along to convention. It was proved there also that there was someone printing those slips and using them in selection ballots. The convention carried a resolution demanding the Goulburn selection ballot from the A.L.P., so that could be investigated, but the Goulburn selection ballot could not be brought to light.

The executive council at its meeting in June closed the Western branch on the casting vote of President Blakeley. The voting was seven for keeping the branch open and seven to close. The branch has been illegally closed. See Rule 36.

On account of leaving office I requested the auditors to give a special audit, and to investigate each individual ticket. This request they complied with, but as it took considerable more time, they required more money than the amount voted at the annual meeting, and after consulting the president of the branch I gave the amount. I consider the auditors were entitled to the same, as they worked very late hours every night.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the branch executive for the valuable assistance rendered me during the past twelve months, also the staff of Western branch, and the members of the rank and file, also organisers who assisted me considerably while I held office.

C. Ambrose, who has been employed by the branch for the past five or six weeks, has been typing the roll, and therefore his salary does not appear as office salary, as it is under the heading working expenses.

Signed:—J. M. CULLINAN, Secretary.

### QUICK, QUICK, O THINKERS!

The future presses. To-morrow cannot wait. Humanity has not a minute to lose. Quick! quick! let us hasten; the wretched ones have their feet on red hot iron. They hunger, they thirst, they suffer. Ah, terrible emaciation of the human body!

Parasitism laughs, the ivy grows green and thrives, the mistletoe is flourishing, the tapeworm is happy.

## Australian Socialist Party

### NEWS AND NOTES

#### SYDNEY BRANCH.

On Aug. 22, Com. Douglas Sinclair lectured in the Hall on "Convention and Revolutionary Concepts." He spoke in his usual vigorous style, emphasising the need for organisation on a full understanding of society as it exists to-day; and dealt very eloquently with aspects of the class struggle.

Questions and discussion showed very little disagreement with his arguments.

On Sunday, Aug. 29, Mr. Manuel spoke upon "Glimpses of Evolution," a lecture which was illustrated by some fine lantern slides.

The audience certainly had an intellectual treat and our best thanks are due to the lecturer and Mr. C. Hook, who so kindly gave the use of his lantern, and operated for Mr. Manuel.

Other activities are going well, especially Domain meetings and literature sales.

The latter are proceeding as briskly as ever, and our only requirement to still further increase them is more workers from the Branch.

The report would not be complete without mentioning that the debate previously mentioned in the "I.S." between A. S. Reardon and C. Jackson (A.S.P.), and A. Thomas and A. Wilson (O.B.U. and W.I.L.U.) respectively, took place on Wednesday, August 25th.

It need hardly be stated that this debate is of the utmost importance as a question of basic principles and a good deal of interest was taken in its discussion and results.

For new readers I may mention that the actual resolution was "That the O.B.U. and W.I.L.U. are utopian in character."

A stenographic report was taken, and will shortly be published in pamphlet form; it will then be for readers to judge as to whom they consider put up the best arguments.

MARCIA REARDON, Asst. Sec.

#### WHAT WE WANT.

All hail the dawn of a new day breaking.

When a strong armed nation shall take away  
The weary burdens, from backs that are aching  
With maximum labour, and minimum pay;  
When no man is honoured who hoards his millions;  
When no man feasts on another's toil.  
And God's poor suffering, starving billions,  
Shall share his riches of sun and soil.

There is gold for all, in the earth's broad bosom;  
There is food for all in the land's great store;  
Enough is provided, if rightly divided.

Let each man take what he needs, no more.  
Shame on the miser, with unused riches,  
Who robs the toiler to swell his hoard,  
Who beats down the wage of the digger of ditches,  
And steals the bread from the poor man's board.

Shame on the owner of mines, whose cruel  
And selfish measures have brought him wealth;  
While the ragged wretches who dig his fuel  
Are robbed of comfort, and hope and health,  
Shame on the ruler, who rides in his carriage,  
Bought with the labour of half-paid men;  
Men who are shut out of home and marriage,  
And herded like sheep in a hovel-pen.

Let the clarion voice of the nation wake him  
To broader vision, and fairer play;  
Or let the hand of a just law shake him,  
Till his ill-gained dollars shall roll away.  
Let no man dwell under a mountain of plunder,  
Let no man suffer with want and cold;  
We want right living, no more almsgiving;  
We want just dividing of labour and gold.

—ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

What a frightful object the prosperity of the tapeworm. To destroy that, which devours—in that is safety. Your life has within itself death, which is in good health.

There are too much misery, too much desolation, too much immodesty, too much nakedness, too many brothels, too many prisons, too many rags, too many crimes too much weakness, too much darkness, not enough schools too many little innocents growing up for evil!

The trucklebeds of poor girls are suddenly covered with silk and lace—and in that is worse misery; by the side of misery there is vice, the one urging the other.

Such a society requires prompt succor. Let us seek for the best. Go all of you in this search. Where are the promised lands?

Civilisation would go forward; let us try theories, systems, ameliorations, inventions, progress, until the shoe for that foot shall be found. The attempt costs nothing, or costs but little—to attempt is not to adopt—but before all, above all, let us be lavish of light.

All sanitary purification begins in opening windows wide. Let us open wide all intellects. Let us supply souls with air.

Quick, quick, O thinkers! Let the human race breathe; give hope, give the ideal, do good. Let one step succeed another horizon expand into horizon, conquest follow conquest. Because you have given what you promised do not think you have performed all that is required of you.

To possess is to promise, the dawn of to-day imposes on the sun obligations for to-morrow.—Victor Hugo.



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**A.S.P. Literature Department, 115 Goulburn St., Sydney****A RETROSPECT.**

Continued from front page

tions to France. His imitator, Bismarck, adopted the same policy for Prussia: he played his political grab-game, his revolution from the top, in 1866 against the German confederation and Austria, and not less against the recalcitrant Chamber of Deputies in Prussia. But Europe was too small for two Bonapartes, and so the irony of history would have it that Bismarck should overthrow Bonaparte and that King William should restore not only the small German empire, but also the French Republic. The general result, however, was this, that in Europe the autonomy and inner unity of the large nations, with the exception of Poland, had become a reality; true, it was only within relatively modest limits, but yet far enough so that the developing process of the working class was no longer materially hindered by national complications. The gravediggers of the revolution of 1848 had become executors of its will; and beside them arose the proletariat, the heir of 1848, already threatening, in the new International.

After the war of 1870-1871, Bonaparte disappears from the stage and Bismarck's mission is completed, so that he can now subside again to the level of an ordinary country squire. But the closing act of this period is formed by the Paris Commune. A treacherous attempt by Thiers to steal the cannons of the Paris National Guard called forth a successful revolt. It was again demonstrated that in Paris no other revolution is possible any more, except a proletarian one. After the victory the leadership fell uncontested into the lap of the working class, just as a matter of course. And again it was shown how impossible it was even then, twenty years after the former effort, for the leadership of the working class to be successful. On one hand France left Paris in the lurch and stood by looking on while it was bleeding under the bullets of McMahon; on the other hand the Commune wasted its strength in a barren quarrel of the two disagreeing factions, the Blanquists, who formed the majority, and the Proudhonists, who formed the minority, neither of which knew what to do. The victory of 1871, which came as a gift, proved just as barren as the forcible overthrow of 1848.

With the fall of the Paris Commune it was thought that the militant proletariat was everlastingly buried past resurrection. But quite to the contrary, its most vigorous growth dates from the Commune and the Franco-Prussian war. The complete transformation of the whole military system by bringing the entire able-bodied population into the armies, now running into millions, and by the introduction of firearms, cannon and explosives of hitherto unheard-of power, put a sudden end to the Napoleonic war era, and assured a peaceful industrial development by making impossible any war other than a world-war of unprecedented gruesomeness and of absolutely incalculable consequences. On the other hand, the increase of the army budget in a geometrical progression forced the taxes up to an uncollectable point, and thereby drove the poorer classes into the hands of Socialism. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, which was the immediate cause of the mad competition in preparations for war, might goad the French and German bourgeoisie into chauvinism towards each other, but for the working-men of both countries it was only a new bond of unity. And the anniversary of the Paris Commune became the first general holiday of the entire proletariat.

The war of 1870-1871 and the overthrow of the Commune had, as Marx foretold, shifted the centre of gravity of the European labour movement from France to Germany. In France it took, of course, years to recover from the blood-letting of May, 1871. In Germany, on the contrary, where industry was de-

veloping faster and faster, forced on in hothouse fashion by the providential milliards from France, the social democracy was growing faster and yet more enduring. Thanks to the intelligence with which the German workingmen made use of the universal suffrage, introduced in 1866, the astounding growth of the party is revealed to all in incontestable figures. In 1871, 102,000 social democratic votes; in 1874, 352,000; in 1877, 493,000. Then came the high official recognition of the gains in the shape of the anti-Socialist law. The party was for a moment demoralised; the number of votes in 1881 fell to 312,000. But the relapse was soon overcome, and then under the pressure of the anti-Socialist law, and without a Press, without a recognised organisation, without the right of association or of assembly, the growth began to increase more rapidly than ever. In 1884, 550,000; in 1887, 763,000; in 1890, 1,427,000. Then the hand of the State was palsied. Then anti-Socialist law disappeared; the number of Socialist votes rose to 1,787,000, over a quarter of the total votes cast. The Government and the ruling classes had exhausted all their expedients; they were useless, aimless, resultless. The tangible proofs of their impotence which the authorities, from the night watchman to the imperial chancellor, got shoved under their noses, and that, too, from the despised working men, were numbered by millions. The State had got to the end of its Latin, the working men were only at the beginning of theirs.

Moreover, in addition to this, the German working men had done their cause a second great service, besides the first one, consisting merely in their existence as the strongest, best disciplined, and most rapidly growing Socialist party; they had shown their comrades of all countries a new weapon, and one of the keenest, in showing them how to use the ballot.

Universal suffrage had long existed in France, but had come into disrepute through the misuse which the Napoleonic government had made of it. After the Commune there was no labour party in existence to make use of it. In Spain, too, it had existed since the republic, but in Spain it was always the custom of all the real opposition parties to refrain from voting. And in Switzerland, too, the experiences with universal suffrage were anything but encouraging for a labour party. The revolutionary working men of the Romance countries had become accustomed to look upon the ballot as a snare, as an instrument of oppression manipulated by the government.

In Germany it was different. The Communist Manifesto had already proclaimed the winning of universal suffrage, of democracy, as one of the first and most important tasks of the militant proletariat, and Lassalle had taken up the point again. And when Bismarck saw that he was forced to introduce this franchise as the only means of getting the masses interested in his plans, our working men at once took the matter seriously and sent August Bebel into the constitutional convention. And from that day on they have used the ballot in a manner that has repaid them a thousand fold and has served as an example to the working men of all countries. They have transformed the ballot, in the words of the French Marxians, "de moyen de duperie, qu'il a été jusqu'ici, en instrument d'émancipation"; from a means of jugglery, which it has been heretofore, into an instrument of emancipation. And if universal suffrage had offered no other advantage than to allow us to count ourselves every three years, and by a regularly certified and unexpectedly rapid increase of votes to raise in equal degree the confidence of the workers and the terror of their opponents, and thus to become our best means of propaganda; and to inform us exactly as to our own strength and as to that of all opposing parties, and thereby give us a standard for apportioning our activity such as could not be equalled; and to save us both from untimely hesitation and untimely rashness:

if that were the only benefit derived from the franchise, even then it would be enough and more than enough. But it has done far more. It gave us in election campaigns an unequalled opportunity to come in contact with the masses where they still stood aloof from us, and to force all parties to defend their views and actions before all the people against our attacks, and it also opened to our representatives in Parliament, a forum from which they could talk to their opponents in Parliament as well as to the masses outside, with an entirely different tone of authority and freedom from what they could use in the press and in meetings. What good did the anti-Socialist law do the government and the bourgeoisie so long as the election campaigns and the Socialist speeches in Parliament were continually nullifying it?

(To be Concluded.)

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